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Ron Keeva Unz
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Special Notice to our Readers

As most readers no doubt are aware, this and *CPR's* immediate past issue are being published considerably later than normal. This unfortunately is due to the financial uncertainty regarding *California Political Review's* future I wrote about to you in my recent "End of Year" report sent to all subscribers. All of us at *CPR* sincerely apologize for this delay — all subscribers will have one additional issue added to their subscription term as a small token in compensation for the disruption in service. Our intention is to resume our normal publishing schedule in 2010. Many thanks to our loyal readers for your patience and understanding in these trying circumstances. — Editor

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CORRESPONDENCE

Strange omission

Your consideration of Meg Whitman's GOP candidacy for governor "Corner Office Sweepstakes: Steve Poizner, Meg Whitman," by William E. Saracino and Tony Strickland respectively, *CPR,* Aug./Sept. 2009) fails to note that Ms. Whitman has been a major donor (in the six-figure range) to some of the nation's most radical anti-market, anti-private property environmental organizations.

Last November, *Mercury-News.com* reported that "The Griffith R. Harsh IV and Margaret C. Whitman Charitable Foundation in 2007 contributed $100,000 to the Environmental Defense Fund, which is now at odds with Whitman over water policy." The Environmental Defense Fund is one of the original organizations responsible for the gross abuses we see every day in applications of the Endangered Species Act and all sorts of other bad laws and regulations, particularly those that trample property rights.

Given Dave Stirling's consistent reminders of the vast damage these groups have done and continue to do to us in every aspect of our lives, it seems strange to find such an ommission in *CPR.*

Xavier Buckley
Riverside

... which Mr. Buckley has now corrected.

— editor

What do we do if Poizner bails out?

The one constant I have noticed about our GOP "leadership" is that sooner rather than later every one of the "fiscally conservative, social issues liberal"-type Republican candidates sells out on fiscal conservatism. Pete Wilson did it with a whoop and a holler in his largest state tax increase (to that point) in California history — a series of tax hikes he recently has admitted were mistakes. Arnold Schwarzenegger forgot all the love he had expressed for Milton Friedman and Ronald Reagan almost immediately upon reaching elected status in the governor's office.

My question is: why should we trust Mr. Poizner to act any differently? Yes, to be sure, he is running as a fiscal conservative. So did Wilson; so did Schwarzenegger; it's expected of any Republican (and, these days, of most Democrats as well) seeking a statewide office. But after he is elected, what's to hold him to any of it, when he confronts our recalcitrant, wild-spending and high taxing Democrat Legislature with their powerful spending interest (state employee unions most prominently) supporters? The state's supply of political will and staying power seems always to favor this spending lobby.

I pray that no matter who the GOP nominates, he or she will stay the course if elected. But what recourse do we have if, like so many others, he or she does not? Has anyone, for instance, tried to set up political organizations specifically to oppose the spending lobby? These organizations would serve as counterweights, at least, to their so-often-overwhelming and too-often unanswered political clout in the state Capitol. Who would such organizations represent? Could they be effective in the tangle of Sacramento political intrigue and pressure?

The emergence of such potentially countervailing organizations would be among the most desirable possible results of this election, be they for Whitman or Poizner. Any governor must have a solid base of real political support to sustain his or her efforts.

Joseph Mankowski
Woodland Hills

Mr. Saracino responds:

Mr. Mankowski raises a salient ques-

(Please turn to page 10)

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SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

Two items dominate all political conversation in your damp, cold, and foggy state capitol — the governor's nomination of Quisling Maldonado for lieutenant governor and the looming (yes, once again) budget deficit for next year.

The Maldonado case is fairly open and shut, consisting of an old-fashioned political pay-off (wink, wink, of course I am using hyperbole here to protect the guilty and this publication) going to a cooperative knave.

Maldonado was one of the six GOP Quislings (if you don't know what a Quisling is, look it up; it is beautifully spot-on about Maldonado) who, at Ahnolt's urging, cast votes for last February's largest state tax increase in American history. Grandiose promises were obviously made to get even obtuse politicians like Maldonado to break a written pledge against raising taxes. We now know Abel's price (everyone always knew, of course, the kind of man he is). The only question was the precise value he placed on his threadbare "honor."

But this bribe — er ... of course, I mean to say perfectly legal pay-off — comes with a catch. His nomination must be confirmed by both Legislative houses. The Democrats, voting as a block, could easily scuttle it, and a large segment of the Donkey Party wants to do just that.

More interesting, however, is the talk among GOP legislators of either voting "no" or abstaining on the nomination so as to send a clear message to Ahnolt, Abel, and future Ahnolts and Abels: Think twice,

that is, nay thrice, before breaking written pledges not to raise taxes. Here's hoping that at least a few GOP legislators have the spine and courage to do just that. Payback can sometimes be a thing of beauty — yes?

The other 800-pound gorilla in the room at the *chic-chic* watering holes I habituate (only in the service of *Spectating*, of course) is the upcoming budget deficit. Astute readers might recall that the tax-increasing budget passed last February was supposed to be the governor's long awaited "permanent" fix. And if you believed that you are eligible for inclusion in all sorts of honorary orders of dunces, useful idiots, and all-around chumps. Of course it was not. I say of course because Democrats refuse ever actually to cut budgets in any lasting, meaningful way, so we have yet another massive deficit. This one comes in at $20 billion.

In spite of the bribe — er, that is, perfectly legal pay-off...of Maldonado — it is considered highly unlikely the governor will find, in an election year, any GOP legislative votes for tax increases. And if Mr. Schwarzenegger continues as the "good Ahnolt" of recent months, opposed to such things, he and the legislative GOP might actually force long-term budget reductions on the Democrats. It is, however, just as likely that the "bad Ahnolt" of much too recent memory will return, clamoring for tax hikes and ignoring the state's constitutional requirement of a two-thirds vote of the Legislature in favor to raise them.

As a betting man (legally only, of course) I wouldn't touch this wager in either direction. But whichever "Ahnolt" we get when the budget season starts, it ought to be magnificent political theater. I promise to continue haunting the toney watering holes and salons in the Big Tomato so as to continue effective *Spectating* and reporting to you. In the meantime — New Year's blessings to all.

— *A.P.C.*

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A Closer Look

Patriotism

There really is a limit that commentators have a duty to recognize.

MIKE FREDENBURG

"Now I don't want to question his patriotism," said the popular afternoon conservative talk show host, speaking sincerely about candidate Obama's long-standing left-wing views on the military. Anyone who listens to or watches conservative media has likely heard similar disclaimers — conservative television and radio personalities tripping all over themselves in their eagerness to declare that they are not questioning the patriotism of the various left-wingers they happen to be talking with or about. I suppose they fear that questioning someone's patriotism might bring denunciations flying that the questioner is either uncouth or uncivil or both. Folks at your county club might look askance. You might be compared to Joseph McCarthy and of employing his tactics.

But despite these possible consequences, we should press ahead to consider the consequences of allowing these hard-left characters to wander the American political and social landscape with their patriotism unquestioned by mainstream conservative punditry. After all, if you loudly exclaim that you do not question a man's patriotism, you certainly imply that he, in fact, is patriotic.

The central question seems to be whether the definition of patriotism can be stretched to cover leftists without destroying patriotism as a concept with any meaning. In order to answer it, some agreement must first be reached on a definition of genuine patriotism as it exists at the intellectual level and at the level of the human heart. I herewith offer some thoughts on such a definition for readers to consider. First, foremost, true patriotism should not include any part of jingoism. People naturally tend to overestimate the positives of their own country while overestimating the negatives of other countries. True patriotism should be founded on as realistic a perspective as possible of the negatives as well as the positives of your own country, knowing that you might be just a bit biased, despite doing your best to avoid it. So to be a real patriot you must maintain a realistic view of the world.

Fortunately, we live in the United States and have much for which we can be truly proud. We are blessed to live in a nation that has spent more of its treasure and sacrificed more of it lives to defend the freedoms of peoples all around the world than any other nation in history. Someone who cannot acknowledge this statement is no patriot. The United States, in general, has been a force for good and stability in the world and the world owes the United States a debt it most likely can never repay. Consider the record: World War I, World War II, the defeat of the Soviet Union, and now taking on the brunt of the war against radical Islam. If you refuse to acknowledge this plain truth you are no patriot.

Of course, honesty demands as well that true patriots (in contrast to jingoists) acknowledge sins committed by Americans past and present — that Americans, being human, are sinful and thus have accumulated a record that includes profound failings of which we cannot be proud. As much, of course, can be said of every other nation and people on earth.

But if your grasp of reality is such that you see America as among the most evil, unjust nations ever to exist, then you are not capable of being a patriot. If, for instance, you are convinced that American history boils down to the white races oppressing and exploiting people of color, you cannot be a patriot.

All of these truths, which, frankly, are really too ob-

Michael S. Fredenburg is a conservative writier and political activist living in the San Diego area.

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An Opening for Common Sense

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Steve Poizner
Meg Whitman
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"The beginning of political wisdom is the recognition that liberalism is at the end of its intellectual tether."
— Irving Kristol

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vious to require stating, can easily be put into the form of questions that should be asked of left-wing politicians and celebrities. If they are true to themselves in their answers, they will be self-identified as outside any reasonable definition of patriotic, a truth it is important to acknowledge, and no shame or support for any charge of incivility or of having breached the rational rules for normally "couth" behavior.

BY THE WAY, a particular subset of leftists deserves special consideration: those that believe their military service gives them impunity to adopt extreme leftist views and rhetoric about America automatically free of any question that they are unpatriotic on account of what they say and do. Is it possible for a veteran to be unpatriotic? Absolutely! A wide range of people go into the military, and they do so for a wide range of reasons. Not everyone who enlists does so out of patriotic fervor. That being said, conservatives very much respect military service and should bend over backward giving veterans the benefit of the doubt when such circumstances as we have been discussing arise.

But no veteran who holds the distorted leftist views described above should be called patriotic (either explicitly or implicitly) no matter how illustrious a military career he or she may have recorded. A real-life example of a man who disgraced his country and is no patriot is former Marine and current Congressman John Murtha. Congressman Murtha gave aid and comfort to the enemy by recklessly accusing members of Kilo Company, Third Bn, First Marine Regiment of going on a rampage and slaughtering 24 Iraqi civilians in cold blood long before there were any facts to validate (or invalidate) his charges. Notwithstanding Murtha's past service to his country as a Marine, his actions and words were those of a traitor, not a patriot.

We conservatives should stop letting the left intimidate us with their co-option of the language. It does not serve the conservative cause or our country to have

WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

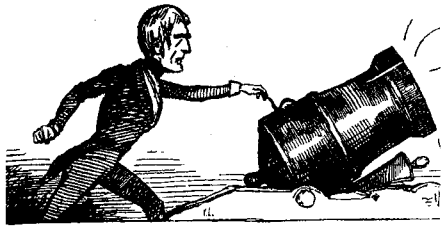
By SAM PAREDES

The recent ceremonial signing of another new law, this one requiring ammo dealers to log all handgun ammo purchases, take the purchaser's thumb print, make all handgun ammunition unavailable without the vendor's assistance, and banning purchases by mail-order, brought us Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, law enforcement officials, and bill author Assemblyman Kevin deLeon all orating eloquently, long, and mendaciously about a "new day for crime fighting."

Assemblyman deLeon let the cat out of the bag, however, admitting that the bill is merely step one towards creating a statewide database of ammunition purchasers. The Legislature's left-wing, anti-gun leadership (and law enforcement) want background checks and a database on all ammo purchasers. No doubt a waiting period is also in their thinking.

The governor said he is a Second Amendment supporter but could not see why registering and being thumbprinted infringed anyone's rights. When a reporter asked how long ago he'd purchased ammunition, he sheepishly admitted it had been at least 10 years. He talks about things he knows nothing about.

For the record, the speeches and public arguments for this bill are shamelessly dishonest. Its supporters know it will hinder no criminal because they know that it just reenacts a failed federal policy dumped in 1986 by Congress as completely ineffective (according to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms).



AB 962 harasses law-abiding political enemies of the freedom-hating left. The thumb print angle is particularly heinous in this regard, designed solely to make Americans exercising their most basic rights feel that they are involved in something slimy and shameful.

California stands to loose millions of dollars in sales tax revenue, as happened under a similar law regulating spray paint, which did as much to eliminate graffiti as this law will do to decrease crime.

Ammo will be bought legally in Nevada, Arizona, and Oregon. The governor appears to be giving in on bad law to gain support for his water, education, and other policies. The term for that is not polite to use in public. CPR

Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.

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people running around who in the past would have been called traitors, but today are assumed, no matter what they say or do, to be patriotic.

With great care, when warranted, we should methodically lay out the case showing that this or that person has sacrificed the honor of being called "patriotic." This procedure will also protect the memory of true patriots who will not be lumped in with people who would harm our country. So: when appropriate, question away. CPR

Martini Musings

The Richest Man in Town

The small, every-day things make a wonderful life.

WILLIAM E. SARACINO

THIS BEING the last column I will write before Christmas, I invoke a point of personal privilege, opting out of my usual political ponderings to offer thoughts more *apropos* of the season.

You don't have to know me very well to discover that I think *It's A Wonderful Life* is perhaps the finest movie ever made. Oh, not judging on technical standards, though the movie is quite well done. *Wonderful Life* is a great movie — perhaps the greatest — because

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of the messages that are imparted in it. And though it is ubiquitous on television this time of year, do yourself a favor and buy the video cassette, or better yet the DVD, to avoid the editing done for the tube. Avoid the colorized version like you would a letter from Osama Bin Laden with powder on it.

It is a rare person who is not familiar with the scene at the end of the movie, where all of George Bailey's (Jimmy Stewart's) friends and family have gathered round him to help him through a tough spot. That scene, to me, is the essence of a successful life, of a wonderful life — having those you love and who love you surround you with comfort when you need it most.

I know from whence I speak. In September of 1998 I went completely deaf in the space of three hours one morning. I recovered my "hearing" in April of 1999 after successful cochlear implant surgery. During the seven months of my "Simon and Garfunkel" period, from September to April, (think sounds of silence ... ahem) and for the first few months after surgery while adjusting to the cochlear implant, I discovered how George Bailey must have felt. I could not possibly have made it through that very rough time without the support and love of my family and friends — delivered on a daily basis.

In the last scene from *Wonderful Life,* mentioned above, George Bailey's brother offers a toast that goes: "To my brother George, the richest man in town." The toast was full of irony, as George wasn't rich at all in material things. Far from it. But he was fabulously wealthy in the things that really matter in life: faith, family, and friends.

One of the messages of *Wonderful Life* I find most compelling is how George got into the position of having all those friends willing to rally around him. The answer lies in the way he lived his life. He was constantly looking out for other people, always willing to help out, eager to do the right thing. He was always happy to engage in kindnesses that, while they might appear trivial on the surface, meant a great deal to the people on the receiving end of them. It was the small things, the every day things, that made the difference. George Bailey didn't change the world. But he did

The richest man in town

make it a much better place, one person at a time.

I learned the importance of "small kindnesses" when I went through my great (non)hearing adventure. During my seven months of deafness, there were times I would get down, dispirited, or stressed. Every time that happened — and I mean this quite literally — one of my family or friends would call, write, stop by, send an e-mail, or do some small thing that picked me up. It may have taken them 30 seconds and might have involved the most trivial of things — but it made my day, many times. Many good things have come out of that time in my life. Among the foremost is my understanding now that the little things can mean a lot to people in day-to-day living.

Let me make clear I'm not talking about the moronic "random acts of kindness" *mantra* that the Cumbaya crowd prescribes as a cure for the world's ills. What I'm talking about is specifically not random. Spur of the moment perhaps, but not random. I'm talking about premeditated acts of charity and love for those we know are in need of succor. Or even for those we only suspect are in need of it. I'm talking about appreciating the importance of taking time in our busy lives to do the small things — acts of friendship, for lack of a better description — that it is so easy to put off until "tomorrow."

Don't do that. Tomorrow is promised to none of us, and the spirit of somebody you know may well need a lift today. At 9 a.m. on September 18, 1998, I could hear just fine. At noon I was stone, cold deaf. Tomorrow may not bring you the opportunity to help someone that today carries. While we are busy trying to do the big things in our lives, let's not forget what George Bailey

---

William E. Saracino is a member of California Political Review's *editorial board. The California Public Policy Foundation has published this number of Martini Musings each Christmas since 2000.*

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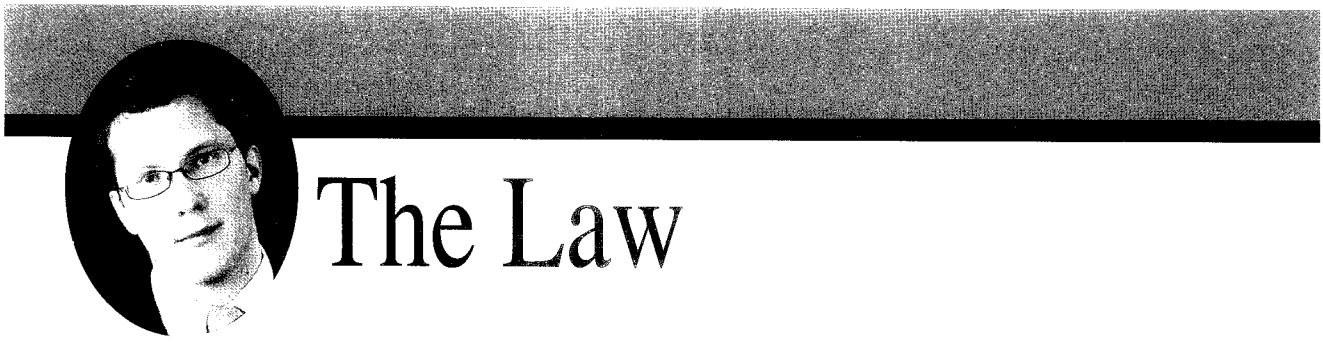
teaches us — that often we do the most important work of living just by being a friend — one person at a time.

Mother Theresa put it this way: "Only rarely in our lives are we called upon to do great things. But every day of our lives we are called upon to do little things with great love." I expect that sounds hokey and maudlin, yet I know the truth of it. During my challenging times I was, of course, cheered by the "big things" done and grand gestures made on my behalf. But it was the small, day-to-day kindness and thoughtfulness that really got me through.

THE EFFORT to do "little things with great love" can be a challenge, as it requires a humility that isn't necessarily natural to us. We, after all, grow up dreaming of big things, especially those of us in politics or the public eye. Most of us, myself included, define a successful life in financial terms 'way too frequently. Following Mother Theresa's road may make the world better, but it's unlikely to make us rich or famous. It probably won't even get you noticed — except of course by the recipient of your thoughtfulness.

But there are other rewards. Standing before the Almighty on Judgment Day, would you rather be able to say you helped elect presidents, senators, and governors, or that you helped mend someone's spirit when that spirit was tattered? That you drove only the finest cars, or that you took the five minutes necessary to brighten an estranged friend's heart? That all your sweaters were cashmere or that you comforted all you met with love and laughter? All these things aren't mutually exclusive certainly, but far too many of us do not have them prioritized properly.

As we consider December 25, let us contemplate the message of the child born in Bethlehem. And as we do so, let us keep in mind the admonition of Mother Theresa, who is doubtless one of His saints. Let us, by all means, do the "great things" that life brings to us, if that is our lot. But let us — every day — remember to do the little things with great love. By doing so we can impact the world enormously, just as George Bailey did, one person at a time. It's the secret to a wonderful life. CPR



The Law

Through the Looking Glass

Leftists apply 'Kafkaesque' reasoning to steal property and vaporize constitutional rights.

LUKE A. WAKE

YOU COULD forgive Edward and Nancy Klumpp, a Moorestown, New Jersey, couple, for thinking that they've fallen down Alice in Wonderland's rabbit hole. Their legal battle with the Borough of Avalon over its seizure of their beachfront parcel has transported them into a world where — to quote Lewis Carroll's Alice — "Nothing would be what it is, because everything would be what it isn't."

The New Jersey Supreme Court recently agreed to hear the Klumpps' case, so they may yet be rescued from the topsy-turvy world of Avalon's bureaucrats, who have behaved as if basic property rights protections can be ignored and government is free to grab land without paying for it.

Because core constitutional rights are at issue, the case carries implications for everyone who owns a home or other property — even in California. In fact,

Luke A. Wake is an attorney with Pacific Legal Foundation, which litigates nationwide in defense of constitutional property rights. PLF has submitted a friend of the court brief to the New Jersey Supreme Court in support of the Klumpps' property rights.

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Golden State residents have strong reasons to monitor the Klumpps' case because the California Coastal Commission and other land-use regulators on the "Left Coast" always seem to be looking for new routes around the Constitution's protections for property owners. If Avalon is allowed to pioneer a new formula for swiping property, it might give some local governments in our neck of the woods some ideas.

AVALON'S OWN records have listed the Klumpps as owners of their beachfront land for nearly 50 years. The Klumpps have received regular property tax bills and they've duly paid them. So imagine their shock four years ago when Avalon suddenly claimed that it — not the Klumpps — had actually owned the land for more than four decades.

In essence, Avalon is trying to make the Klumpps' property interest vanish — like the disappearing Cheshire Cat in Alice's tale.

The seeds of the dispute go back to 1962, when the great northeaster destroyed the Klumpps' seaside home. Following the storm, the borough came onto the Klumpps' land to build protective sand dunes, but it did so without securing their permission, and after constructing the dunes, it ended up blocking the road that led into their property.

A decade later, seeking a permit to rebuild their beach house, the Klumpps asked a court to guarantee their access to their land. The borough's first response acknowledged that the Klumpps did indeed own the property.

But in 2005, in a legal motion of its own, Avalon changed its tune, claiming — for the first time — that ownership had transferred to the borough in 1962 when it trespassed on the parcel for sand dune construction.

As things now stand, the Klumpps will probably never get to rebuild. In addition to the ownership battle, they're hampered by a web of regulations to protect the sand dunes, and contracts between the borough, the New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection and the Army Corps of Engineers.

But shouldn't the Klumpps at least be paid for having their property taken? The Fifth Amendment requires reimbursement when private land is appropriated for public use.

Instead of honoring this principle, the borough is fighting to be recognized as owner of the Klumpps' land without having to give them a penny.

Astonishingly, earlier this year a New Jersey state appellate court sided with Avalon. In a decision that one legal commentator has described as "Kafkaesque," the court held that the borough had, in fact, taken effective ownership of the property in 1962, but that the Klumpps weren't owed money because the taking occurred through "inverse condemnation."

The decision turned the "inverse condemnation" concept inside out. Correctly understood, it is a legal action launched against, not by, the government. And a successful inverse condemnation action results in exactly the opposite of the court's decision: The property owners are reimbursed, because government has denied them the use of their land.

As the New Jersey Supreme Court takes up the Klumpps' case, the stakes are high. If the appellate decision is not reversed, don't be surprised if we see other communities adopt Avalon's scheme for taking over private land without the inconvenience of formal notice, eminent domain proceedings, and reimbursement. In a *Through the Looking Glass* world where "reality" is what bureaucrats say on any day, agencies could intrude on private property for some ostensibly public purpose, and claim, years later, that — presto — this intrusion transformed a private place into a public space. Constitutional property protections must be safeguarded and enforced against such arbitrary government actions. Avalon's strategy must not become a blueprint for communities to evade the Fifth Amendment mandate that property must be paid for, not stolen. CPR

Correspondence

(Continued from page 2)

tion of two parts: 1) Why should we think Steve Poizner's "no to taxes" assurances are worth any more than Governor Schwarzenegger'?, and 2) If he is elected governor, how can we help him stay true to those assurances? The first point comes down to a personal judgement: Arnold Schwarzenegger has proven himself a bald-faced liar. Steve Poizner would appear to be a man of personal honor who will admit it when he disagrees with you. If he thought raising taxes was necessary to solve California's budget problems, he'd say so.

The second point is far more important: because, whether Poizner or Whitman are elected governor, the existence of an organizational, anti-tax infrastructure to help stiffen their resolve in the face of the usual media and Democrat cabal howling to raise taxes, will be essential. The Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association — *www.hjta.org* — does yeoman's work in the battle against tax increases. This publication also has been on the front lines of that battle. We simply cannot go on blaming Republicans in office for failing to stiffen

(Please turn to page 14)

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Tracy Fish Collection Facility

ernor's decision leaves water-crisis fix years off

by M. David Stirling

The Delta smelt is a tiny fish whose habitat is the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta (the Delta) from Sacramento south to the federal and state water projects' pumping stations near Tracy. From 1973 to 1993 — when it was listed as a "threatened" species under the federal Endangered Species Act — the fish's population dropped tenfold. Despite years of work and funds expended by federal and state wildlife agencies since 1993 to determine the causes of and to reverse the Delta smelt's decline, no success has been achieved; the fish's numbers have continued to drop.

Several factors contribute to the smelt's decline. These include diminished Delta water quality, predator fish, numerous invasive species that consume the smelt's food source, and the California Water Project pumps. For more than 35 years, water from Northern California rainfall and snow-pack has passed down the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta, where the projects' pumps have redirected it to household,

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M. David Stirling is Of Counsel with Pacific Legal Foundation (pacificlegal.org), a public interest legal organization that defends private property rights and advocates for balanced and common-sense environmental regulation. He is the author of the book, Green Gone Wild: Elevating Nature Above Human Rights *(see: www.greengonewildbook.com).*

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Fallowed Fields

business, and farming use in the East Bay, Central Valley, and Southern California, as far south as San Diego. Some two-thirds of Californians — roughly 23 million people — receive some portion of their water from this source.

In 2008 and 2009, as a result of litigation brought by the Natural Resources Defense Council and other environmental groups, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service ordered pumping drastically restricted between December and June (when young smelt are nearby) on the scientifically suspect premise that the pumps were the primary cause of the smelt's decline.

Although a recent report on Delta smelt population monitoring indicates that the reduced pumping during the last two years achieved no improvement in the smelt's numbers, the severe pumping restrictions have imposed serious economic and social consequences on people. Because of the water delivery reductions caused by the pumping restrictions, farmers have fallowed vast acreage of land normally planted in vegetables and highly productive and expensive fruit orchards have withered and died. This cost farmers some $350 million in losses in 2008, and an estimated $710 million loss in 2009; more than 35,000 agricultural workers are out of work; numerous businesses directly and indirectly related to agriculture have closed; and entire communities, some with unemployment rates of more than 40 percent, have suffered devastating effects. Moreover, millions of household and business users in Southern California that have few other sources of fresh water are experiencing increasingly stringent water rationing.

The federal Endangered Species Act's harsh regime allows only one avenue for seeking timely relief from the Act's "species-first — people-last" bias. In rare situations, where ESA-imposed human hardships far outweigh ESA-provided species benefits, expeditious relief may be sought by a state's governor petitioning the U.S. Secretary of Interior to convene the Endangered Species Committee — a high-level federal panel nicknamed the "God Squad" because of its life and death power over species protection enforcement. The God Squad has authority to modify or grant exemptions from a determination by the Fish and Wildlife Service — for example, in the case of the Delta smelt, the Fish and Wildlife Service's determination that pumping be severely restricted between December and June.

Last June, when it became obvious that the reduced water deliveries were having increasingly serious economic and social impacts on people living and doing business south of the pumps, Pacific Legal Foundation, Congressman George Radanovich (R-Fresno), and others each urged Governor Schwarzenegger to petition Interior Secretary Ken Salazar to convene the God Squad and restart the pumps. Besides submitting to the governor more than 12,000 individual signatures urging him to seek God Squad relief, PLF advised the governor that the God Squad provision was added to the ESA by Congress in 1978 specifically to address emergency situations like those caused by the pumping restrictions.

But the governor declined to petition the secretary. In a letter to Congressman Radanovich, he offered this explanation:

> I carefully studied the possibly of petitioning for the initiation of the "God Squad" and ultimately concluded that it makes little sense for California. Our water supply shortages are here and now. By contrast, the God Squad process takes years to reach any sort of resolution and, in fact, has failed four out of the five times it has been attempted. Convening the God Squad is neither a fast nor certain method at a time when Californians need speed and certainty.

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The governor's letter is remarkable in several respects. First, he affirms his view that the Central Valley's parched fields and withered orchards are the result of a climatic drought. That view is erroneous, although it is advanced by the Natural Resources Defense Council (whose senior attorney is Robert Kennedy, Jr., to whom the governor is related by marriage) and an environmental movement that wants all California agriculture shut down and the land returned to nature.

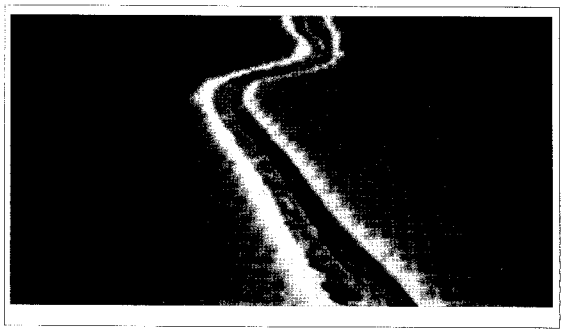
While no one denies that Northern California has seen a decline in rainfall and snowpack in '07, '08, and '09, vast amounts of water have continued to pour into and pass through the Delta every minute of every day during each of those years. But because so little water was being pumped between December and June, multi-billions of gallons of Delta water passed by the pumps and has been wasted into the Pacific Ocean. So long as enough water is available to waste in this fashion — water that could have been redirected through the pumps to benefit people — it cannot be credibly argued that the hardships the people suffer are the result of a climatic drought. What people are suffering from is a government-caused drought.

Second, the governor's letter also states his erroneous belief that "the God Squad process takes years to reach any sort of resolution" and "is [not] a fast ... method." In fact, as PLF advised the governor, providing an expeditious means of moving around the ESA's slow and rigid bureaucratic process was the primary purpose for which Congress amended the God Squad provision into the Act in 1978. The God Squad may act on a petition and grant an exemption to an oppressive determination in less than a year.

Another flaw in the governor's approach is reflected in the statement that "the God Squad process ... has failed four out of the five times it has been attempted." Actually, the God Squad process has been initiated six times; of the six, one was granted, a second was partially granted, one was denied, and three were dropped. But in not seeking relief — based on past "wins and losses" — the governor forfeited a perfect opportunity to use the political muscle of his governorship of California's 38 million people to press the Obama Administration for quick God Squad relief. Clearly the government-ordered water delivery reductions was as good a candidate for a God Squad exemption as is likely to come down the pike.

But what is most unfortunate is that the governor had no faster alternative to the God Squad process. While he rightfully recognized that "our water supply shortages are here and now" and that "Californians need speed" in obtaining water, he rejected the only vehicle that could provide water "here and now," in favor of pursuing a legislatively-enacted $11.1 billion bond measure, which includes $3 billion for construction of dams and reservoirs. Even if the bond measure is approved by voters in the November 2010 election, the storage infrastructure projects realistically won't be constructed and capable of enhancing the state's water storage and delivery system for, perhaps, a decade.

Furthermore, dams and reservoirs are anathema to litigious environmental organizations. In Washington and Oregon, they sue continuously to remove existing storage structures. They even had inserted in the water bond measure $250



Dead Fruit Orchard

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million for removing existing dams in the Klamath River Basin on the California-Oregon border. Their future legal challenges to the building of new dams and reservoirs will surely delay construction even longer.

Make no mistake: new water storage facilities are sorely needed. California's population has increased by 66 percent since the state and federal water projects began transporting water from north to south in the 1970s. More than three decades have passed since any new storage infrastructure has been constructed — again, this due primarily to environmental lawsuits. With the state's population expected to reach 60 million people by 2050, California needs additional water storage. But at best it is a long-range plan. If it comes to fruition at all, it clearly will not be in time to address the crisis being caused by the severe pumping restrictions.

In the meantime, Governor Schwarzenegger, or more likely his successor, will have to find a way to restore Delta water delivery to millions of households, businesses, and farmers residing south of the pumps. In light of columnist Dan Walters' statement that "Conservatively ... California is probably more than $600 billion in debt," (*Sacramento Bee,* November 29, 2009), it will be a Herculean task. CPR

Correspondence

(Continued from page 10)

their spines when the last they see of the grass roots and the rest of the conservative coalition are their votes on election day. Election day is D-Day, the first day of battle, not the last. It's Normandy day one; we always seem to forget about D-plus one, two, and three; that winning the battle at the water's edge must be followed up with conquest after often bloody conquest until the job is completed.

What's needed is a coordinated effort of everyone interested in keeping taxes low. Governor Poizner or Governor Whitman should have a statewide juggernaut ready to support them in saying "no" to new taxes (which means "no" to more government). A grand coalition should be assembled providing grass-roots organizing of foot soldiers, statewide earned media, op-eds, talking points for radio-talk show phoning, and organizational support at all levels to oppose increasing taxes. Needless to say, the tea-party movement should be among its leaders.

Who wants a 'democratic society'?

Why do we continue to give people who hate America the benefit of the doubt about their intentions? To wit: "Unfortunately," writes a trusting — or just too nice — Paul A. Hoffman ("The ACLU Police State," by Paul A. Hoffman, *CPR,* Aug./Sept. 2009) "some factions in our modern culture do not view Boy Scouts and similar diverse associations as essential seedbeds of a democratic society." How can Mr. Hoffman justify his rosy-hued optimism about our adversaries' intentions? The vast bulk of available evidence shows that, by and large, the people holding power within the ACLU (especially the leaders who actually make the decisions controlling the group's actions and policies), do *not* consider "democratic society" or "diversity" to be good things at all. In that case, the Boy Scouts' being "essential seedbeds of a democratic society" is exactly why they've been targeted. If a man agrees with the Moslems who demonstrated and harangued against "democracy" coming to power to liberate Iraq, then why would he want to see the Scouts continue as a "seedbed" giving us more supporters of democracy in America? It's as if an unwritten law decrees Americans can take any destructive position they like and still be honored as "well-meaning," their destructiveness written off as merely "misguided," but never as what it plainly is: tyrannical and anti-American.

We owe these people more respect. They *know* what they want to do, but our tactics and strategies against them often do not match their actual motives and willingness to break every rule, and so, like good appeasers, we often go easy on them where they are most vulnerable: in their having turned their backs on human freedom, which is to say, on the human race itself, to champion tyranny.

Joseph Blackledge
Studio City CPR

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Americanism Educational League

Keeping the Flame

In the Spirit of WALTER KNOTT

The wisdom of John Adams combined with the rough and ready energy of the American West made the American character: a way of life Walter Knott wanted to pass to new generations. Result: The Americanism Educational League

by William E. Saracino

Back in the day when I was a sophomore in high school (okay, for the really nosey it was 1965), I entered a "free enterprise slogan contest" run by something called the Americanism Educational League (AEL). AEL was giving cash awards to the best slogans promoting free enterprise that could fit on a bumper sticker. Though I don't remember my entry, I do remember being one of the winners. This entitled me to venture down to the Knott's Berry Farm Independence Hall replica, there to receive a check for the then-princely amount of $50.00 from one of AEL's founding fathers, none other than Walter Knott himself. Fast forward to 2005 when a friend tells me that a patriotism-centered organization was looking for an executive director. It turned out to be my old friend the Americanism Educational League, and I have been its E.D. ever since.

AEL was founded in 1927 by a group of businessmen, including Walter Knott, who were troubled by the spread of communism, fascism, and totalitarianism. They believed that to pre-

William E. Saracino is a member of the California Politial Review *editorial board and serves as a consultant to the Americanisn Educational League.*

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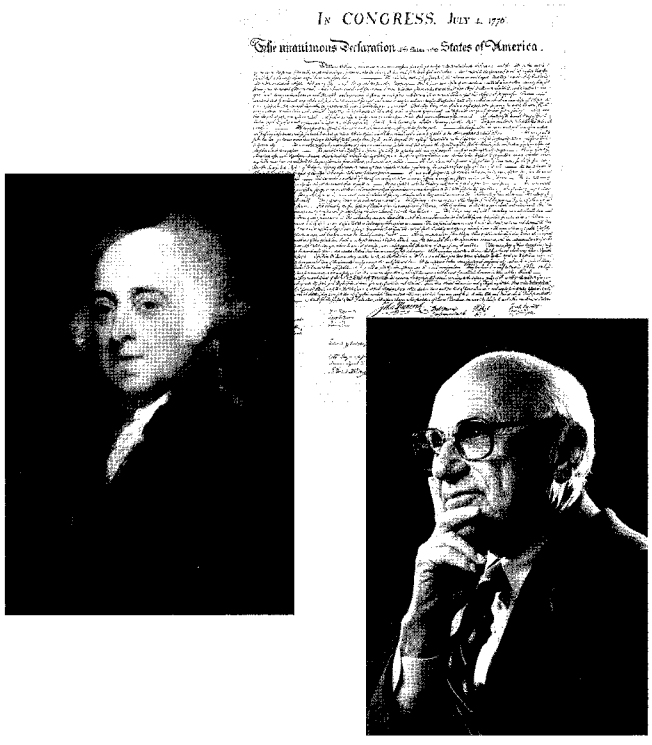
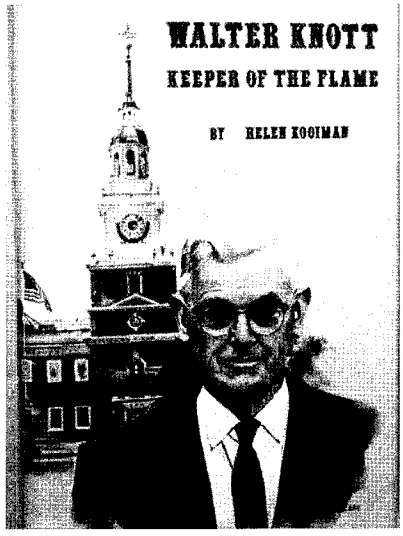


America's Founding and such towering leaders as Adams and Friedman inspire and inform The Americanism Educational League and its work.

serve and promote our country's future, America's young people should be educated about the political, social, and economic values that made America free and strong. Since 1927, AEL's mission statement has remained the same: "to instill citizenship and patriotism in America's youth." AEL carries out that mission through programs aimed at schools, students, and teachers. All of its programs are offered free of charge. I thought a brief rundown might whet the interest of *CPR* readers. (For a full listing of AEL's programs, see: *www.americanism.org.)*

AEL's oldest program is a lending library, consisting now of more than 150 DVD titles on America's history and core values. Selections include Milton Friedman's brilliant defense of free enterprise, "Free to Choose," biographies of the Founding Fathers, presidents, inventors, and explorers, critiques of socialism and centrally-planned economics, and John Stossel's series on the follies of big government. The DVDs are viewed by thousands of students each year.



Approaching its 30th birthday is AEL's collegiate essay contest. Trustees choose a timely topic each year – 2008's was the Supreme Court's *Kelo* decision; in 2009 it was government-run vs. private health care. With a total prize purse of $15,000, 300 to 400 entries are received annually from a broad cross-section of schools, including some of the most prestigious colleges in the country. Many professors incorporate AEL's essay contest topic into their annual lesson plans. In fact the winner of the 2008 contest was encouraged to enter by her professor, who had been a winner of this contest in the 1990s. In partnership with California State University, Northridge, (CSUN), AEL co-sponsors annual student debates. The debate topic is the same as that year's AEL's essay contest, ensuring that some of the best student minds in Southern California will explore, research, and discuss our essay contest topic.

The Student Citizenship Award is aimed at elementary and middle schools. It rewards students for being active in their schools, communities, and families, encourages them to learn more about American history and provides them with a valuable "extra curricular activity" to include on their high school and college applications. Strong citizens make a strong country, and this program promotes that.

Cognizant of tight budgets, especially among private, charter, home, and magnet schools, AEL looks for unique educational materials to place in their libraries. The first effort involved a book, *The Heritage Guide to the Constitution.* Published by the Heritage Foundation, it is edited by former Attorney General Ed Meese with contributions from

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more than 100 Constitutional scholars. The current item in this project is a film biography of President Ronald Reagan: "Ronald Reagan, Rendezvous with Destiny." Future offerings in the pipeline include the HBO film series adaptation of David McCullough's brilliant biography, *John Adams,* and classic free market economic texts by Frederick Bastiat and Friedrich von Hayek.

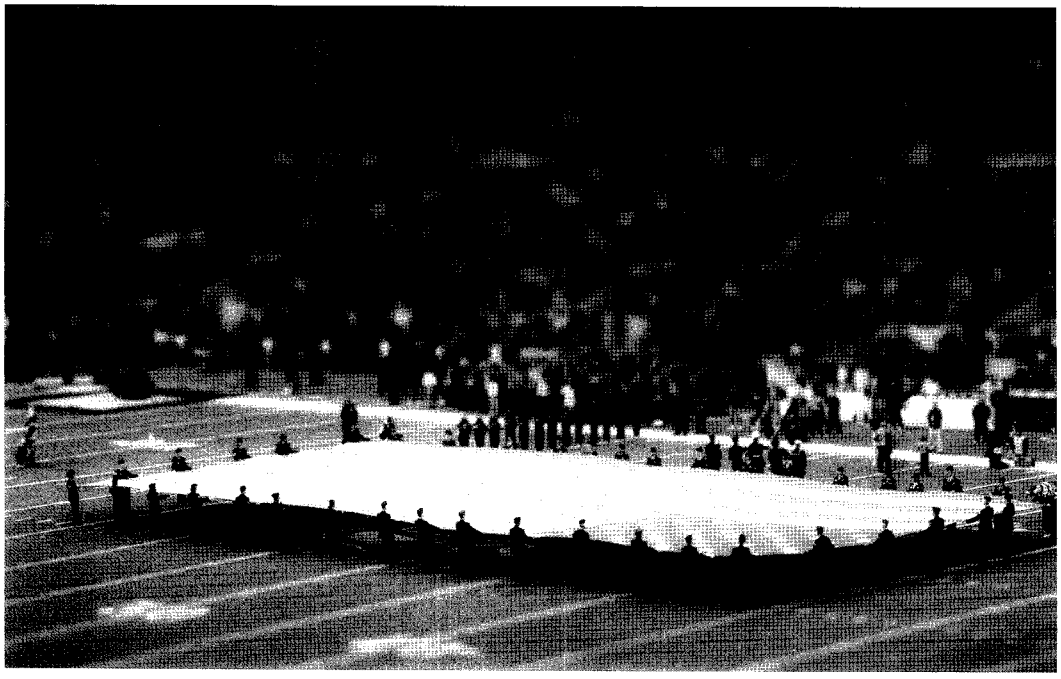
One of AEL's newer programs focuses on outstanding high school level civics, history, and American values teachers. The "Outstanding Teacher Award" recognizes the hard and diligent work of those dedicated individuals on the front lines, imparting knowledge about America to the nation's young people.

The League's "Thomas Paine Award" annually rewards excellence in collegiate level investigative journalism. Open to all college students (not just journalism majors), the award is given to the author of an article that has been published in a collegiate newspaper and/or on the Internet. Also on the college level, AEL supports Pepperdine University's "Youth Citizenship Seminar." Held each summer, the youth seminars bring several hundred high school students to Pepperdine's Malibu campus to study American history and discuss current political events.

Lead by an AEL "Outstanding Teacher" winner, the "First Job Interview" program prepares high school students for their first step into the working world. The program covers proper attire, attitude, communication, resume preparation, and real life examples of what to do – and not do. The final segment puts students through a mock job interview conducted by local business owners.

Finally, AEL's "Young Entrepreneur Award" recognizes and rewards entrepreneurs of high school and college age who have demonstrated a capacity for coming up with creative ideas and for taking the kind of responsible risks good entrepreneurs must show the gumption to take.

All of these programs and more are covered in AEL's quarterly newsletter and on the website. After reading the scope of all AEL does, I hope readers will appreciate my enthusiasm for this unique organization. Instilling "citizenship and patriotism in America's youth" is vital to the survival of the America we know. AEL is doing its part. I hope *California Political Review's* readers will visit us at *www.americanism.org,* and decide they want to help. CPR



AEL teaches young people the true meaning of American patriotism.

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Going part-time?

Jesse Unruh promised a 'professional Legislature' would be less beholden to special interests and possess the resources needed to solve 'complex policy issues.' It hasn't worked quite that way.

by John Kurzweil

The California Assembly, 1963-64 session. Seated, immediate foreground, is Speaker Jesse Unruh, nicknamed 'Big Daddy.'

Californians continue to show themselves far more conservative than liberal politicians, pressure groups, and the media would have us believe. In our supposedly "left-wing" state, nearly three-fourths of respondents (72 percent) last September told pollsters from the Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC) that "the state is heading in the wrong direction." In case anyone is unsure about that direction, it is sharply left. As Hector Barajas of the California Republican Party put it two years ago: "... for the past 12 [now 14] years, Democrats have controlled both houses of the state Legislature. They have been in complete control of setting the legislative agenda and appointing the membership of every legislative committee, including those that deal with health care; transportation; education; aging; public safety; *and* budget, taxes, and revenue. We have arrived at today's budget crisis under decades of legislative control by the

John Kurzweil is California Political Review's *editor.*

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Democrats in Sacramento *[emphasis added]."* Barajas said state government spending increased 44 percent during the then just-past four years.

Now, it need hardly be pointed out that spending skyrockets *every* year, Democrat pressure groups — left-fringe ideologues ("environmentalists," for instance, more anti-people than pro-environment, starving Central Valley farmers for water), trial lawyers growing fat on unconscionable legal awards given not according to any actual culpability for injury on the part of the payers but simply based on who or what has money to take and, above all, the spending lobbies (primarily Big Labor) that pretty much run the state Capitol. (Public employee unions at budget hearings openly threaten to "take back" the seats of Democrat lawmakers who fail to support their spending demands, an upside-down "process" run at the expense, but not for the benefit, of the ordinary people the whole system is *supposed* to serve.) Unsurprisingly (unless you think California is a "liberal" state), "... most (80 percent) Californians said the state budget process is in need of major changes," according to PPIC, "a steady increase since March 2008 (65 percent March 2008, 65 percent May 2008, 76 percent September 2008, 78 percent May 2009). *This view is held across political parties, demographic groups, and regions [emphasis added]."*

These circumstances have the people in the mood for radical surgery: 69 percent favored either "major" (33 percent) or "minor" (36 percent) changes to the state constitution, with only 24 percent saying the constitution is fine as it is. And, as we all know, "the negative views about the direction of the state are reflected in views about state leaders." Approval ratings: the governor, 30 percent (his *dis*approval rating hit a new high of 61 percent), and the Legislature, 21 percent. And even though voters typically give their *own* legislators high marks, only 34 percent of Californians signaled approval of their local reps, a number, again according to PPIC, that "remains near its lowest level (32 percent March 2009)."

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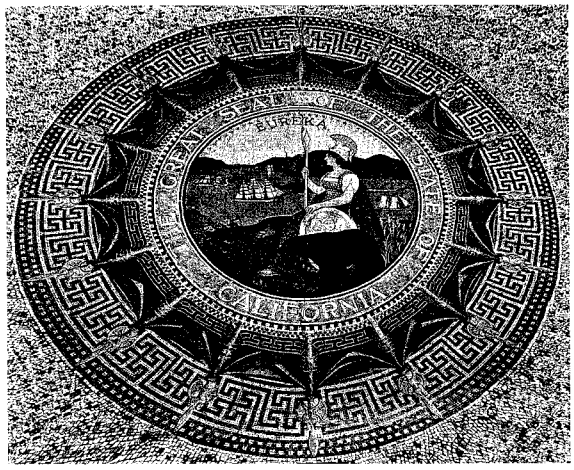
Consensus about solutions to the crisis does not exist, a point the punditry seizes upon the "prove" the people are liberal, but that conclusion is based on faulty logic. The people want to reverse the state's (and the nation's) current left-wing direction, but don't yet know the best way to do it. Rallying popular support for *specific* reforms requires leaders, a commodity in short supply among Republicans — defining "leaders" as individuals and groups capable of understanding and explaining our available choices, choosing wisely among them, and, most importantly, sufficiently committed to the peoples' cause to withstand the furious pressure the establishment (which always favors the *status quo)* exerts against anyone who tries to stand firmly against it.

Consensus about solutions to the crisis does not exist, a point that supposedly "proves" the people are liberal, but that conclusion relies on faulty logic. The people want to reverse the state's (and the nation's) left-wing direction, but don't yet know the best way to do it.

The people are justifiably suspicious, not to say cynical, about "Republican" leaders who promise real change when seeking office and who forget all about it once they're elected. The most embarrassingly glaring example of this sort of duplicity is our very own current governor who won office pledging to "blow up the boxes" and now behaves as one every bit as enslaved to the Sacramento Power Structure as the lowliest Democrat beholden for his legislative seat to coerced union dues and union-generated propaganda in his district.



PART-TIME LEGISLATURE

Retired state Senator H.L. Richardson once told me that if he could enact any single policy reform to fix the state's overall dysfunctionality, it would not, as I thought he might say, directly involve the key issues he has championed over the years (defense of the Second Amendment, for example, or the rule of law in court). He said his single solution would be to return to a part-time Legislature.

Since statehood, California has experimented with both the frequency and length of sessions for which the Legislature would meet. Lawmakers were on a part-time basis in 1966 when California voters amended the state Constitution to provide for a full-time Legislature without limitation on the how long a session could run. Regular readers are certainly familiar with former state Senator Ray Haynes' often-repeated critique of the state budget process and of the way Sacramento operates in general: the incentives of people in office and in staff positions in state government all reward them when they act to aggrandize their power, not when they serve the people. That means they do well when they pass laws that interfere with people's lives. That gives them leverage over those people. Every sort of ordinary Californian finds that he must go to Sacramento (or send representatives from the dreaded "lobbyist" community) to try to regain as much of their freedom as possible — freedom that is diminished or threatened by the bills the office holder threatens to engineer through the Legislature and onto the governor's desk. As Governor Schwarzenegger said recently

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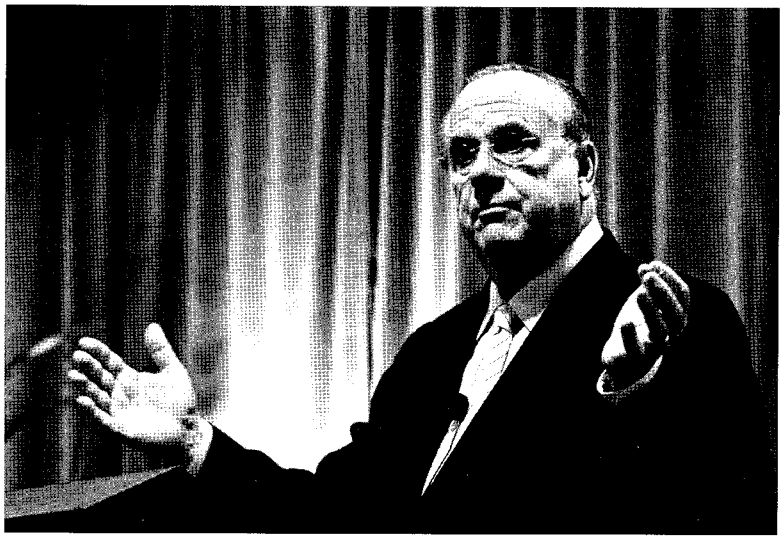

Even Democrat Treasurer Bill Lockyer called most Democrat bills 'garbage.'

in Hawaii, endorsing the idea of a part-time Legislature, lawmakers spend "so much time in Sacramento without anything to do, then out of that comes strange bills." Strange bills indeed: "We have the Legislature interested in such things as legislating the size of children's backpacks [and] the amount of water dishwashers can use," said Ralph Rossum, director of the Rose Institute of State and Local Government, at a 2004 conference. "One of the finest pieces of legislation proposed," he continued, "would adopt *Feng Sui* in state building codes. John Burton ... said the worst bill he could remember came when it was still a part-time Legislature .... [he] nicely left out ... that when it comes to stupid legislation he carried a bill that would have made it a crime to be poor."

Because we have a full-time Legislature, lawmakers actually hurt their own interests when they help relieve people of the burden of big government. To the extent they succeed, they remove themselves from the center of the equation: they no longer play a determining role in those peoples' lives and can safely be ignored, and that is often just what part-time legislators want. They have real lives and businesses they're eager to get back to. But no full-time politician can long survive in such circumstances. His power, his career, his future all depend upon ever-increasing numbers of people looking to him for "solutions" to every last problem they face. These lawmakers' *strongest* incentive, therefore, is never actually to solve any problems whatever (although they must give every appearance of "struggling" to overcome them) while continually inventing new ones crying out for solutions that only he can provide as the peoples' indispensable champion. Coupal noticed that even prominent Democrats "have weighed in on the dysfunctional and corrupt nature of the California Legislature. Commenting on the negative regulatory environment in our state, Attorney General Jerry Brown said the state has adopted 30,000 laws since he was governor. 'We're overloaded by too many rules,'" he said in a speech. And even Treasurer Bill Lockyer, a former state senator, told a meeting of Democratic lawmakers several weeks ago that most of their legislation was 'garbage.' So the burning question is: If all the legislators left the Capitol and closed the door behind them, how long would it take anyone to miss them?"

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

While making his comments in Hawaii, Schwarzenegger suggested a part-time Legislature might be less inclined to waste time on "strange" bills. Former Governor Pete Wilson echoed him in a speech, saying that, although the Legislature probably cannot be induced to go part-time on its own, "I think the public is ready. When you have a part-time Legislature, they are by necessity required to concentrate on the most important issues. I think we would see many fewer bills. We would see far less spending."

Wilson's point that fewer bills would mean less spending is dead on, but the causes of these useless bills run much deeper than that lawmakers have too much time on their hands. Given loads of time, the Legislature can't get its work done, the budget being chronically late for instance, because, as we've seen, the electeds have no incentive to get it done. Instead, they find

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time for the weird legislative regulating and taxing that serves their power. Former Assembly Republican Leader Pat Nolan was closer to the truth when he suggested — only half jokingly — we amend the Constitution to prohibit anyone from serving in the Legislature if it's the best job he ever had. There's something to that idea — *and* it has something to it of the idea behind a part-time Legislature. It is also an almost universally popular idea, among voters at least. Every politician wants to be *known* as merely a "citizen" who happens to be in politics — never (God forbid!) as a professional pol. Most of them are as fully professional as it is possible for pols to be, but, also for most of them, voter perceptions are the only realities that matter (that's one reason our politics so often resembles a leap with Alice down the rabbit hole) and they know of few crowd pleasers that can compete with the label "citizen politician" — applied to themselves.

But the important point in all this, with regard to putting the Legislature on a part-time basis is that it represents the peoples' most promising mechanism actually to minimize the incentives that go with politics *as a profession.* It gives them their best shot to replace these political careerists with genuine citizen pols. If lawmakers' personal interests are served not by their skill in inventing new ways of harassing people but, rather, by engaging in some business or other productive activity independent of the state political and policy power structure, then those lawmakers are far less likely to forget about the interests of the voters that elected them. Ronald Reagan, shortly after he became California governor, asked a cadre of successful men and women — entrepreneurs, professionals, experts in a variety of endeavors — to come to Sacramento to be assigned some sector of state government fitting their expertise, and then hunt through those sectors, looking for dysfunctional operations, overall inefficiencies, and, generally, anything that wasted taxpayers' money. They were to do whatever it took to root out the problems, putting government on as much a business basis as possible. The whole idea was heretical and caused vehement protest among Democrats for whom government is more employment agency (for them and their friends) than any sort of servant of the people. Of course, Reagan resolutely ignored Democrat howling, much to ordinary Californians' delight, and, in later years, he told of a man who appeared at his gubernatorial office one day, dropped the keys of his agency on Reagan's desk, announced that, having eliminated the waste at his assigned government operation, along with anything not serving a legitimate public function (as defined in the laws that created it), *nothing remained!* He'd terminated operations, locked the doors, and left to go home, stopping only to leave the keys with the governor. "To this day," Reagan said, "I don't know what government operation he'd closed, and nobody seemed to miss it once it was gone." I can't imagine a better illustration of a real "citizen politician" approach — or one more diametrically opposed to the prevailing Sacramento sub-culture — than that exhibited by this man, who may finally have answered Jon Coupal's question. The answer is: never.

Now, then ... it *is* true, as full-time Legislature proponents argue, that potential conflicts of interest arise when a bill directly impacting a "citizen legislator's" *own* livelihood crosses his desk. But such instances will (and should) be few and far between, and an office holder conflicted in this way can recuse himself. If government returns to serving and maximizing the most important of all public interests — human freedom — such instances, as I say, will be relatively rare. If they are not, it simply will mean the state is still meddling too much in the details of our supposedly free, American way of life. And certainly, these strictly limited, strictly personal conflicts fade to near invisibility next to the daily, ubiquitous pressures pushing full-time legislators to prosper by horning in on and disrupting our lives at every opportunity. Besides all this, the dynamics of full-time legislating militate against true citizen lawmakers in another way. As Jon Coupal of the Howard Jarvis Tax-

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payers Association pointed out in a recent column, California's 37 million residents certainly include large numbers of potential candidates for public office who, "like those who serve in our armed forces or the Peace Corps, see service as a sacrifice on behalf of the entire community?

Texas lawmakers don't try to micro-manage every aspect of Texans' lives as California lawmakers do and, not coincidentally but for that very reason, Texas lawmakers succeed — without working full-time.

.... Candidates who have actually demonstrated success in the private sector and are willing to take a pay cut to go to Sacramento to do the right thing on behalf of the voters who sent them there."

Coupal maintains, with ample plausibility, that literally millions of Californians would be "more qualified to hold office than those now representing us, but are *unable or unwilling to make legislating a full-time job. [emphasis added]"* The California effort to go part-time is spearheaded by a group called Citizens for California Reform (CCR) *(www.reformcal.com),* which is preparing to gather signatures to qualify a part-time Legislature ballot initiative that, in addition, would cut lawmakers' pay to match their new, reduced work load. Web surfers can aid the signature drive by downloading petitions at the CCR Internet site and/or by contributing financial resources to their effort. The site also provides a wealth of information on the history, key issues, players, and political dynamics of the controversy. "Since statehood," the group says, "California has experimented with how frequently and for what periods of time the Legislature should meet in session. Sessions have been one year or two years, limited and unlimited in duration, with and without mandatory intervening recesses, and limited to certain legislative matters during specific types of legislative sessions.

"The biggest change came in 1966 when California voters enacted a sweeping revision of the state Constitution, including a provision providing for a full-time Legislature with no limitation on the duration of a legislative session." Its record, the group contends, proves that "our full-time Legislature has failed the people of California. The result is a Legislature dominated by career politicians beholden to special interests. A part-time Legislature will replace professional politicians with citizen legislators," in the process breaking the special interests' "stranglehold" on California.

THE CURRENT PROPOSAL

Herewith the operative sections of the proposed new law:

Section 3 Constitutional Amendment

Section 3.5 of Article IV of the California Constitution is added to read as follows:

Sec. 3.5(a) The Legislature shall reconvene in regular session on the first Monday in January of each year for a period not to exceed 30 calendar days, whereupon the Legislature shall stand in recess. The Legislature shall reconvene in regular session on the first Monday in May for a period not to exceed 60 calendar days.

(b) Notwithstanding subdivision (a), the Legislature may reconvene for an additional period of 5 days following recess or adjournment to reconsider bills vetoed by the governor pursuant to section 10.

(c) On or before the end of the fiscal year 2012, the California Citizens Compensation Commission shall, pursuant to section 8 of Article III, reduce the annual salary of Members of the Legislature by at least fifty percent of the salary established for the fiscal year in which this section becomes effective. Thereafter, the Commission may increase the annual salary of Mem-

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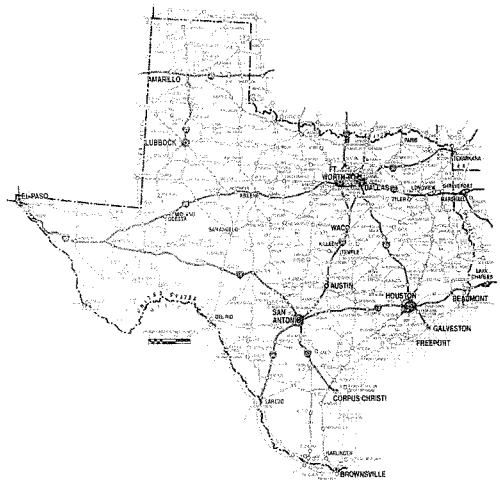
bers of the Legislature to account for any increase in the cost of living, and may reduce such salary at its discretion, pursuant to section 8 of Article III.

And, to provide context, some relevant data: The National Conference of State Legislatures says the average salary of part-time lawmakers is $15,984, with New Hampshire taking the prize as most economical at a mere $100 a year. South Dakota pays $6,000 annually while Rhode Island taxpayers fork out $11,236 for a year's worth of legislating. "Some states also cover daily expenses," according to published reports, "and some only pay a certain amount for each day in session. *Only California, Michigan, New York, and Pennsylvania have full-time Legislatures" [emphasis added],* with taxpayers also providing their career statesmen with "large personal staffs" and salaries averaging $68,599 (See: *http://www.stateline.org/live).* Mr. Coupal adds that California has "the highest paid lawmakers in all 50 states at nearly $100,000 annually along with a car and another $30,000 a year in tax-free expense money." He contrasts California's circumstances with those of Texas, where the Legislature is part-time, the tax burden is much lower than here (no income tax), and so-called public services are no worse and sometimes better. He adds that Texas "public schoolchildren are one to two years of learning ahead of California students of the same age."

ARE 'PROFESSIONALS' REQUIRED?

But opponents of part-time pour cold water on all this, saying that California, at the time it went "professional" was already proving itself incapable of doing its job in the increasingly complex world of modern public policy. Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, senior scholar in USC's School of Policy, Planning, and Development, gave a "history lesson" along these lines in 2004, writing in the *Los Angeles Times:*

> As someone who went to Sacramento in 1966 to help build the staff of California's new, professional Legislature, I have a little history lesson for our novice governor.



Texas, with a part-time Legislature, enjoys a much lower tax burden than here, often with better public services. Students in government schools, for instance, surpass their California counterparts by up to two years.

> From its admission to the Union in 1850 until Proposition 1A passed, California's Legislature met part time. By the 1960s, however, it was increasingly in session long after the constitutional deadline for adjournment; special session after special session was called to deal with burgeoning and complex policy issues.
>
> Jesse Unruh, then the Assembly speaker, spearheaded the reform drive. Proposition 1A, Unruh contended, would institutionalize a *de facto* full-time Legislature and give it the authority to meet its responsibilities and the resources necessary to exercise that authority.
>
> By offering legislators a full-time job with a full-time salary, Unruh hoped to steer them away from conflicts of interest inherent in outside employment and to make lawmakers less dependent on lobbyists' largess."

I've already dealt with this last pipe dream, specifically with regard to the sort of conflicts supposedly plaguing lawmakers dependent on "outside employment." It only remains to ask what could be more laughable than the idea that these Sacramento "professionals" are today "less dependent on lobbyists' largess" under the full-time regime.

In any event, Jeffe's analysis appears at best to be the minority report from the "architects" of California's full-time arrangements. Ad-

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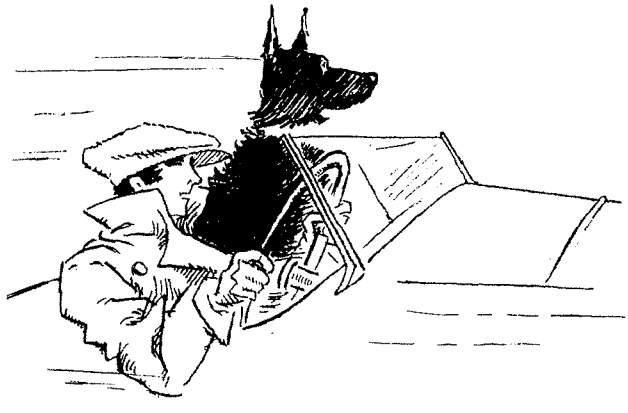
dressing more or less all the issues Jeffe raised, the Rose Institute's Gary Kovall told the 2004 conference quoted above that: "the architects of the reforms of the '60s and '70s, Bob Monagan and others ... regret what has been done. Every one of them that is still alive today looks at it [and] says this has not worked; it did not bring about the intended results, which were a more professional Legislature, more capable of dealing with the big issues, more capable of representing California's interest even in the national political process, in the so-called backwaters of the Congress." As for the "increasing complexity" wheeze, the Institute's Mr. Rosen noted that part-time Legislature Texas (where lawmakers get by on $7,200 per year from the state)

> managed to do some pretty complex energy deregulation that really worked, whereas our professional full-time Legislature managed to make an absolute hash of it. It is interesting, Reliant Energy, indicted just a couple of weeks ago for manipulating energy prices in California at the height of our difficulties four years ago, is a Texas-based corporation. They weren't indicted for manipulating energy costs in Texas because with a truly deregulated system you can't manipulate the market that way. They were accused of doing it in California that had set up this elaborate scheme that just invited unscrupulous individuals to take full advantage of our gullibility.

Rosen's point hits the nail square on: Texas lawmakers don't try to micro-manage every aspect of Texans' lives as California lawmakers do, and, not coincidentally but *for that very reason,* Texas lawmakers succeed — *without* working full-time.

And this brings me to my final point: whatever good might come from going part-time in Sacramento, it will avail the state nothing as long as we continue to elect the same sort of social misfits — ideologically left, estranged from every institution of American freedom — that have run most of what goes on in the state Capitol for so long. The normal, human incentives to serve the public rather than themselves would be in place, but committed lefties will ignore them. They'll plow ahead with their policy agenda, which is nothing if not blind to evidence of its ubiquitous counter-productivity and consistent failure. (I'm speaking here of those few lefties, mostly liberals really, who at least think they sincerely want to serve the state's best interests. Most true leftists, of course, are far too devoted to accumulating personal wealth and power ever to back any move, no matter how beneficial to the people, that might diminish it.)

This means that the people of California will have to take state government more seriously than they have in the past, studying key issues (such as part- versus full-time Legislatures). Californians have largely brought the bane of incompetent, oppressive government on themselves by largely abdicating the job of *self*-government. The grass root will have to become more generally active across the board and those millions of qualified potential candidates Mr. Coupal mentioned will have to step forward and actually fill those part-time seats. Do enough of them in our famously "laid back" state actually "see service as a sacrifice on behalf of the entire community" — one they are willing to make? This could be the most crucial question of all. CPR



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National Grassroots Movement: *Pro-Second Amendment rally in the rotunda of the Pennsylvania state capitol.*`

Reversing the assault on the Second Amendment

With the Supreme Court having ruled that the 'right to keep and bear arms' defines a right of individuals, the way may be clear to overturn a multitude of unconstitutional efforts against that right.

Editor's note:

The United States Supreme Court's landmark 2009 Second Amendment decision in District of Columbia v. Heller *held that the Second Amendment's right to keep and bear arms protected an individual, not a collective, right, held by "the people." However, as handed down,* Heller *applied only to jurisdictions directly under federal control such as the District of Columbia. To insure that the Second Amendment's vitally important guarantee that the right to keep and bear arms protects all Americans, a lawsuit (*Mcdonald v. City of Chicago*) has been filed challenging a Chicago city ordinance that would ban possession of a handgun for individual self-defense. The suit argues that Chicago, in this law, having violated the primary holding in* Heller, *also violates the 14th Amendment's "privileges or immunities" clause. If this challenge succeeds, the protections* Heller *recognized for D.C. residents will be effectively extended to all U.S. citizens, no matter which jurisdiction within the United States threatens them.*

With the Supreme Court now having agreed to hear and rule on these challenges and considering the momentous potential effects the High Court's decision will carry for the nation, California Political Review *here publishes a summary of an* amicus *("Friend of the Court") brief filed by Gun Owners of California in support of the pro-Second Amendment forces seeking relief in Chicago. If the Court, in this case, strikes down Chicago's unconstitutional gun law, a road will be opened to overturn literally thousands of similarly anti-Second Amendment laws passed in states, cities, and counties across the country, including those in California*

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where Sacramento's left-wing zealots routinely seek to trample essential guarantees of Second Amendment rights that belong to all Americans, not just those living in the District of Columbia.

McDonald v. Chicago GOC Friend of the Court Brief

(To read the complete brief go to GunOwners' website, at www.gunownersca.com *or to* www.gunowners.com/GOF-McDonald-Amicus-Brief3.pdf.)

On Monday, November 23, 2009, Gun Owners of California, Gun Owners of America, and Gun Owners Foundation filed a friend-of-the-court brief in the United States Supreme Court in support of four Chicago residents who are seeking to invalidate a city ordinance prohibiting them from owning or possessing a handgun in their own home (*McDonald v. Chicago*). The Supreme Court has set March 2, 2010, to hear the case.

The Gunowners brief argues that the privileges or immunities clause of the 14th Amendment* is the correct basis for ruling that the Second Amendment protects the individual right of all Americans, not just those living in Washington, D.C. It also points out the pitfalls of using the due process clause to reach this conclusion. The following is an excerpt of the brief:

Summary of Argument

The ordinance challenged below banning handguns in Chicago is functionally identical to the District of Columbia handgun ban struck down last year in *District of Columbia v. Heller* (2008). In *Heller,* this Court determined that the Second Amendment's right to keep and bear arms protected an individual, not a collective, right, held by "the people." Since the Second Amendment applied directly to the District of Columbia, it could not be infringed by that jurisdiction. Heller also determined that the right to keep and bear arms was owned by "the people" — Americans, members of the national political community, citizens of the United States.

In the instant case, this Court is asked to determine whether the right to keep and bear arms is among the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. If it is, the handgun ban imposed by Chicago, a subdivision of the State of Illinois, must also be struck down as a state abridgement of those individual rights.

After this Court's decision in the Slaughter-House Cases (1873), the Privileges or Immunities Clause has been rarely invoked, but it continues to protect important national rights of citizens of the United States from abridgement. The right to keep and bear arms is such a protected right of citizens of the United States.

Although petitioners have asked this Court to construe the Fourteenth Amendment as overturning *Barron v. Baltimore,* and have asked the Court to reverse the Slaughter-House Cases and two other late nineteenth century cases, no such sweeping change would be required for this Court to find the right to keep and bear arms to be a protected privilege or immunity of U.S. citizenship that the City of Chicago cannot abridge.

Lastly, these *amici* urge the Court not to resolve this case by incorporating the right to keep and bear arms into the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The incorporation doctrine is nontextual, and would require the Court to violate basic principles of construction. Further, the Due Process Clause applies to all "persons," while the Privileges or Immunities Clause protects only "citizens of the United States" — the Fourteenth Amendment's direct analog to "the people" protected by the Second Amendment. Moreover, due process incorporation would expose the right to keep and bear arms to erosion over time, as has already happened to the right to jury trial in criminal cases. And such an approach would temporize the right to keep and bear arms, making it vulnerable to reassessment based on changing trends in state law, as well as national and even international developments. CPR

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*Section 1 of the 14th Amendment reads as follows:

Amendment 14
Citizenship Rights. Ratified July 9, 1868.

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

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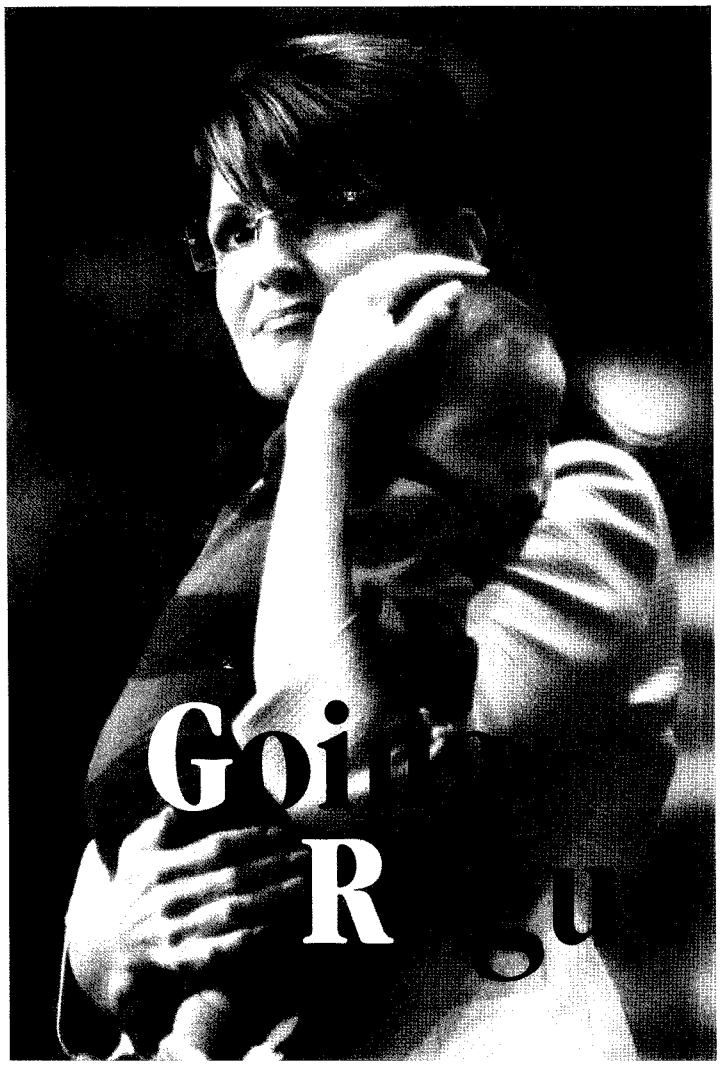

BOOKS

Sarah Palin's independent, thoroughly American intellectual grounding

by Sarah Palin

HarperCollins, $28.99, 2009, 413 pages, cloth

Reviewed by Gregory Sanford

A regularly expressed, and thoroughly understandable, reservation with regard to former national Republican vice presidential nominee Sarah Palin is whether or not she possesses the intellectual interest, tools, and background to lead America's post-World War II conservative intellectual movement. Or, putting it, perhaps, more correctly, is she led *by* it? Has she read Hazlitt, Kirk, Meyers, Kendell, and Chambers, Burnham, de Toledano, and Hayek, not to mention more contemporary thinkers and conservative intellectual leaders such as Friedman, Buckley, and Muggeridge? Has she read *National Review, Human Events, Reason,* and *The American Spectator?* The bookshelves at Ronald Reagan's ranch, I am told display *The Conservative Mind, God and Man at Yale, Up From Liberalism, Suicide of the West,* and *Witness.* Would we find those volumes crowding Palin's shelves in Wasilla?

Frankly, I recall no mention of them in *Going Rogue — An American Life.* But I submit that the book answers the larger question that concerns us here in the affirmative. Palin is every bit as motivated by the largest ideas of contemporary American conservative thought as Reagan was and, what may be of even greater importance, she seems to have come to them independently of the classic influences that informed many

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of this journal's readers: by osmosis of life, by experience, by family, and directly through religious experience.

Of course, prior to any consideration of Palin's intellectual background we must seek to ascertain what sort of mind she has. After all, even Arnold Schwarzenegger has read Milton Friedman, but the experience influences his behavior in office not at all. It is one thing to read Hayek, quite another to be led by him when the chips are down. Another way to ask this question is to inquire what really matters to Sarah Palin: will she sacrifice the immediate interests of her own career and of her family and friends when conservative principles say she should? This is an essential question because its answer tells us how she sees the world. Abraham knew that following God's will was right — even to the point of sacrificing his own son's life, and not just objectively and broadly but specifically for himself and even for his son. For another example, George Washington knew that sacrificing the immediate interests of his officers and men in obtaining back pay was the right thing to do when respecting the authority of Congress required it. In 1783, for instance, he defused the so-called "Newburgh Conspiracy" involving many of his most senior officers over the issue of moneys owed them for years of service to their country. They had come together to declare a military dictatorship in defiance of Congress in order to obtain what was owed them, but Washington knew much more was at stake in the incident than back pay. He knew he must remind his men of their responsibilities to far more then their immediate personal concerns.*

Palin's *Going Rogue* is full of similar such instances in which she places her personal concerns in second place to her responsibilities to the people. In straightforward language, for instance, Palin describes an all-too-typical and familiar sequence of events that she witnessed in Alaska.

> .... People look at the Republican Party today — the supposedly conservative party — and say, "what happened to the Reagan legacy?"
>
> .... it looked to me as if [national Republicans] thought they could achieve a permanent majority by compromising their principles. In the end, they lost both.
>
> That bled on down to the state level. I saw it happen in Alaska. It's why our GOP-dominated Legislature, where the Rs outnumber the Ds, turned into a Democrat-controlled Legislature. A few Republicans gave key committee assignments to the most liberal Democrats in Juneau, just so they could secure favors and big titles. It's why, even with billions of dollars in state savings accounts, we couldn't permanently repeal a fuel tax or a tire tax that hit the people in their pocketbooks. It's why I had to veto huge budgets. And why, when I vetoed a government expansion program, it was ultimately overridden. Its why an outnumbered Democrat, Hollis French, who was handed the Senate Judiciary Committee gavel by just a few Republicans, was empowered to kill a parents' rights bill that would have protected our daughters from invasive surgeries without parental notification.

One of the best books written on Reagan, Peter Schweizer's *Reagan's War,* describes Reagan, the man, as a "hedgehog" in contrast to most of his contemporaries in politics. "Fifty years ago," wrote Schweizer, "philosopher Isiah Berlin wrote an essay titled 'The Hedgehog and the Fox.'" Schweizer quoted the Greek poet Archilochus, who said, "The fox knows many things, but the hedgehog knows one big thing." The many things the fox knows mostly have to do with the mundane daily movement of the people and the money and the power. But the "one big thing" the hedgehog knows is an overriding idea that shapes an overall ap-

*Washington, according to contemporary accounts, first delivered prepared remarks, but then could see that his men remained confused and uncertain, not quite appreciating what he had said. With a sigh, he removed from his pocket a letter from a member of Congress, saying he wished to read it to them. He looked at the letter without speaking, then took a pair of reading glasses from his pocket saying: "Gentlemen, you will permit me to put on my spectacles, for I have not only grown gray but almost blind in the service of my country." Witnesses record that tears filled many of the officers' eyes as they recalled the many battles, privations, and varied life and death experiences they had endured alongside their commander-in-chief and that the rebellion died on the spot.

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proach to life, to politics, or to whatever the large topic in question may be. These "big ideas" are not always true, but they always shape human beings. They are the ideas that move human history. In politics, they are such ideas as monarchy or democracy or republican government, the rule of law, human freedom, and Marxism and Nazism. These ideas do not merely occupy the minds of men, they work actively within them. They develop and introduce themselves into social and political life. Eventually they will manifest themselves as ethical codes or systems of government or road maps guiding political behavior. Even liberalism, which consists primarily in the rejection of ideas, is itself just such a hedgehog's "big idea."

"The 'one big thing' Reagan knew," Schweizer wrote, "was the power and value of human freedom, which proved to be the defining principle and value of his world view .... For more than thirty years, Reagan embraced a vision for dealing with the Soviet Union and ending the Cold War that was remarkably consistent and proved to be decisive."

Modern American conservatism serves many such "big ideas." The decisive question about Sarah Palin — the answer that separates her from the likes of Arnold Schwarzenegger and the sort of Republicans who cravenly gave away their power in the Alaska Legislature — the answer to the question: what sort of mind does she possess? puts her squarely in the camp of the hedgehog, Ronald Reagan. What are the "big things" Palin knows? They are actually old ideas — old, anyway, as we in America measure time and history. Russell Kirk identifies them with John Adams and Edmund Burke.

> Both [men] declare the necessity of religious belief to sustain society, both exalt practical considerations above abstract theory, both contrast man's imperfect real nature with the fantastic claims of the *philosophes,* both stand for a balanced government which recognizes the natural distinctions of man from man, class from class, interest from interest.

"'It is weakness rather than wickedness which renders men unfit to be trusted with unlimited power,'" Kirk quotes Adams as writing. Anyone who reads *Going Rogue* will recognize these familiar themes from Palin's own ideas and primary motivations. She introduces Thomas Sowell's book *A Conflict of Visions,* describing the left's "unconstrained vision" (Sowell's term) as one that sees human nature as "changeable (therefore perfectible) and that society's problems can all be solved if only the poor, ignorant, disorganized public is told what to do and rational plans are enacted .... Conservatives ... know that human nature is flawed and that there are limitations to what can be done in Washington to 'fix' society's problems.

"Commensense Conservatives deal with human nature as it is — with its unavoidable weaknesses and its potential for goodness. We see the world as it is — im-

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perfect but filled with beauty. We hope for the best. We believe people can change for the better, but we do not ignore history's lessons and waste time chasing utopian pipe dreams ...."

The trouble with the left's vision is that it always becomes an addiction indulged far beyond its own viability. If they pursued it only to the point it proved itself illusory there'd be little trouble except for the waste of time and resources to that point, with the educational value the experience afforded to mitigate even that "waste." But they never want to stop there. As Tom Bethel has pointed out, the left is finally learning how little inclined the common man is to being "reshaped" into New Socialist Man, with the bizarre outcome that the very people who began as the left's special darlings soon become its most despised victims. If man won't be changed, let him be destroyed. We now see precisely that sentiment in action in the draconian anti-people program of the socialist "environmentalists." And again, in response to such left-wing abuse of power, we see in Sarah Palin the altogether conservative answer. "The role of government is not to perfect us but to protect us — to protect our inalienable rights" — from whom? From the government itself, of course. "The role of government in a civil society is to protect the individual and to establish a social contract so that we can live together in peace."

Palin's account of her political career is one long record proving that these are not merely words she draws forth to sound Reaganesque. I open the book more or less at random and immediately locate an altogether typical passage reading: "So I had to make something happen. I prayed long and hard. I loved the job. And I had to consider that by making any drastic moves I would be crossing swords with the most powerful men in my own Party. My political career would be over. My whole future was before me. But I also knew I couldn't sit there and be a party to all of this."

That's hedgehog-speak. It is an irksome — to "moderates" — determination to respect the realities of life above our own convenience and even our most cherished pipe dreams that sets the so-called "moderate" Republicans running for cover or firing their howitzers in the direction of the "rigid," "unbending" conservative. Such unwillingness to compromise, to cut deals, to cave in, always strikes these folks as too extreme to win election to anything, no matter how often it is proved to be the only kind of Republicanism capable of winning majorities of Americans to the GOP banner.

It is the quality that the left understands, because it shares and fears it. The left, with good reason, fears Republicans who won't cut deals, Republicans who know what they are trying to do, where they want to go, and the ends they want to serve. The left fears Sarah Palin. My conclusion for conservatives is not to worry about Palin's capacity to lead our movement. She is the genuine article and, as countless massive crowds of enthusiastic supporters — and the sheer terror she ignites in the souls of Democrats who understand exactly the sort of conservative that is required to defeat them — as both these clear signs attest, Palin is a winner. She is a hedgehog of thoroughbred conservative markings; she gets the idea, she knows what it takes to serve people, and, what is more important, she knows, like Abraham, Washington, and Reagan, that standing with what is right is what she is in politics to do.

What, then, should concern conservatives about the Palin phenomenon? It is that the left is learning where our own most potent strengths lie faster than we are. The left thought Reagan could be laughed off; actually hoping on several occasions that he would win nominations so they could run against and smash the woefully over-conservative candidate. They now know better, as they showed in their concerted efforts to destroy Palin as soon as she surfaced in the McCain campaign. Again, they know the kind of Republican that defeats them. Conservatives should learn the lesson equally well and prepare for and fight from the beginning to defend Palin and the natural strengths of the GOP banner she brings to the battle. With full grass roots and rank-and-file conservative support, which she amply deserves, Palin can win. CPR

Who's afraid of Sarah Palin?

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Lenin, Stalin, and Hitler: The Age of Social Catastrophe

by Robert Gellately

Knopf, $35, 2007, 720 pages with full index, cloth

reviewed by Denis Norrington

What can one learn from studying the careers, successes, and ultimate ends of the three most evil despots of the 20th century? According to Dr. Gellately in his book, *Lenin, Stalin and Hitler: The Age of Social Catastrophe,* examining the history of their respective regimes allows readers to gain important insights regarding the roots of dictatorships, the elements contributing to their survival and ultimate demises, and the traits of these three men that contributed to their rise to power.

It has plenty to teach us about the ultimately disastrous policies they undertook for their respective nations and how the results of these policies contributed to the current state of world affairs more than 56 years after the death of the last of them, Joseph Stalin, in 1953.

This well-documented work makes extensive use of archives of the former Soviet regime that the Russian government has released since the fall of the Soviet Empire and that have now been collected at Yale University. It is perhaps no surprise that most current academics have shown little interest in this gold mine of history. This lack of interest is symptomatic of the latent and, in some instances, overt sympathies that exist among Western academics for the former Soviet Empire and for regimes that take the USSR as their model. A notorious intellectual apologist for the old hard-line communist regimes, Professor Eric Hobsbawm of the United Kingdom, stated frankly that the deaths of 15 to 20 million people in the old Soviet Union would have been justified if the "radiant tomorrow" of the socialist utopia had been achieved.

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Maybe the next time success will be achieved if 30 million are eradicated. This may have been where Bill Ayers, (President Obama's confidant and ghost writer) found his idea that a "successful" socialist revolution in the USA would require the deaths of from 10 to 20 million Americans. At least that's what an FBI informant close to Ayers during his "Weather Underground" days said the unrepentant leftist said to him. As the old saying goes, to make an omelet, you have to break eggs.

Professor Gellately said many of his colleagues were distressed by his inclusion of Lenin. Many of them have bought into the myth of the "good Lenin" whose heritage and policies were supposedly betrayed and destroyed by his successor Stalin. The author amply demonstrates the falseness of this notion. It was Lenin who conceived of and instituted policies of direct terror as methods of political dictatorship. When the one election the communists allowed to take place at the beginning of their regime went badly against them, Lenin merely instructed the Red Guards to close down the Duma and undertake arrests of anyone who protested. Stalin learned much of his dictatorial methods, including his greatly expanded use of terror and the construction of vast networks of concentration camps, from Lenin. Indeed the hypocrisy of those who denounced Stalin upon his demise can be shown by pointing out that Nikita Khrushchev, Stalin's successor whose condemnations of the old Soviet dictator made headlines in the West, was one of Stalin's most brutal enforcers and supporters. Khrushchev was responsible for the extension of the policies of terror and mass execution into the Western Ukraine and Eastern Poland when the communists occupied those areas in 1939 following the notorious Molotov-Ribbentrop pact that made Hitler and Stalin allies temporarily.

The parallels and contrasts between Hitler's Nazi regime and that of his communist counterpart are both intriguing and instructive. First of all, unlike the Soviet regime in Russia, Hitler and his Nazi Party for the most part had the support of a majority of the German people. Indeed prior to their accession to power, the Nazis were the plurality party in free elections. After Hitler became dictator, he developed what amounted to a majority "consensus" around his regime and policies. This consensus was aided by Hitler's, and his supporters', constant efforts to develop policies that were popular in Germany and, until the outbreak of World War II, held the use of direct terror and police state brutality to a minimum. Thus, even though the Nazis eliminated democracy and freedom, most Germans supported Hitler and his regime as long as they appeared to be successful in "fighting crime," establishing "good order," and restoring economic prosperity to the Ger-

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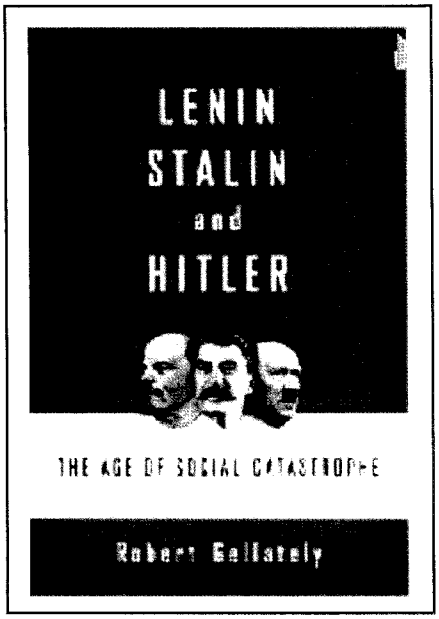

man nation.

By contrast, both Lenin and Stalin justified their dictatorial brutalities by citing Lenin's so-called "key" addition to socialist ideology: the theory of an "enlightened" dictatorial elite, an ideological "vanguard," that had a right to lead because it knew better than the people what was best for society. One who examines the history of socialist ideology following the death of Karl Marx will find a void regarding specifically what tactics socialists are to use to seize power because Marx never said how it was to be accomplished. Eventually, socialists split between English Fabian types who believed the ballot box was a legitimate tool for socialists to use while accepting the restrictions imposed by democratic politics and those who said, as Lenin did, that the "dictatorship of the proletariat" was just that — an unrestrained tyranny run by an elite dictatorial group (the communist vanguard) who knew the "proper" and "correct" direction the society should take to become a Marxist-socialist utopia. Hitler was certainly no self-restrained Fabian, but his regime did lean somewhat more toward respecting and relying upon popular support for its policies than did those of Lenin or Stalin.

What parallels and conclusions can be drawn for contemporary politics, both here and abroad? For one thing, Stalin served as an ideological mentor to Mao and his Chinese communists. The author points out that Stalin's book, *The Foundations of Leninism,* bears a significant resemblance to Mao's *Little Red Book* that became a Chinese communist's "holy text" during the the Cultural Revolution. Interestingly, Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin helped trigger the Sino-Soviet split between Russia and China, a development Nixon attempted to use, ultimately unsuccessfully, to salvage an acceptable conclusion to the Vietnam War. As far as current U.S. politics is concerned, perhaps Pelosi's idea of developing "consensus politics" has some basis in the idea of a quasi-dictatorial regime nonetheless enjoying majority support among the American electorate. However, as polling has made it apparent that any such "consensus" has been evaporating rapidly, Democrats may be falling back on the old Leninist principle of an "enlightened" dictatorial elite who know what is best for the nation without regard to whether or not electoral majorities oppose it.

In conclusion, I should also mention that Dr. Gellately's book contains an enormous wealth of historic information. A fairly substantial portion of it consists of necessarily continuous summaries of the extensive mass imprisonments, executions, and brutal suppressions undertaken by all three of these dictators. While much of this is mind-numbing in its extent, it gives an accurate history of the horrible excesses of all three dictators and how they guided their respective regimes toward what ultimately became the Holocaust known to us as World War II. CPR

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First Things

The horse race

by John Kurzweil

Most political journalists like to say they are "not rooting for either side, just looking for good stories." That usually translates into covering the political horse race — leaving out the very elements that explain it, though trying to be as objective as possible.

One way or another, this attitude is responsible for most of the misreporting we all see even from solid, honest reporters. It simply is impossible to understand American politics without at least knowing the most basic elements moving the three sides actively slugging it out in our political arena — conservatives, leftists, and liberals (or, more descriptively, the side favoring America's free way of life, those who hate it and hope to destroy it, and the always-ready-to-compromise "moderates" who strive mainly to avoid treating seriously their responsibilities as a self-governing people).

The tacit justification underlying this "not rooting for either side" position is that it is the only safe way to avoid biased reporting. On the contrary, however, all that is required to report objectively is an essential commitment to honesty (*i.e.,* truth, one of the First Things). Perhaps paradoxically, walking around this obvious reality, liberal reporters actually open themselves up to every sort of bias, leading to unbalanced reporting on more or less every issue. Soon we see them, like Dan Rather, justifying even conscious bending of the truth when it serves "the right side of history." As the more perceptive reporters in Moscow during the Stalin-era 1930s used to say of the preposterous official government reports they received every day showing the most impossible Stakhanovite exaggerations: "its all true except the facts."

The horse race is emphatically *not* the most important element in elections. Honest reporting begins with a straightford look at voters' true motivations and objectives in casting ballots. We see precisely the opposite in all the balderdash about Massachusetts voters "continuing in the protest mode that elected the Democrats to Congress and the White House." This Democrat line-of-the-day on the recent special election is not just self-delusional: it reflects a refusal to admit that "truth" matters (*that* would require taking sides — a man can't seriously take truth into account without rooting for those that stand with it).

The media's near-universally wrong estimations of Ronald Reagan's political strength is another glaring example of the misreporting fostered by the "not rooting" canard. If you root for neither "side," you will inevitably notice and count as essential everything *except* what actually moves voters. (The best book on why Reagan acted as he did and why he won remains Peter Schweizer's *Reagan's War* which looks first at what made the man go and, consequently, what voters saw in him that they liked.

Life is about the First Things, which regular readers know I consider to be good, life, love, truth, and beauty. All humanity's dreams are about achieving them, especially in one's own life; its nightmares begin with fleeing them. Life's great lie, leading inexorably to despair, is that we can live and be fulfilled without reference to the First Things — that we can live for wealth, power, a comfortable existence, even peace (a meaningless concept if, again, it is separated from reliance on the First Things — What is peace without freedom and personal security from attack? So-called anti-war folks routinely act as though peace was no more than absence of war, but no peace is to be found in Communist or Islamic societies where everyone is endlessly subject to the real possibility of the tyranny visiting them or their loved ones, destroying them.) Can any political analysis explain what is actually happening without "rooting for either side"? In a word: no. CPR

John Kurzweil is CPR's *editor.*

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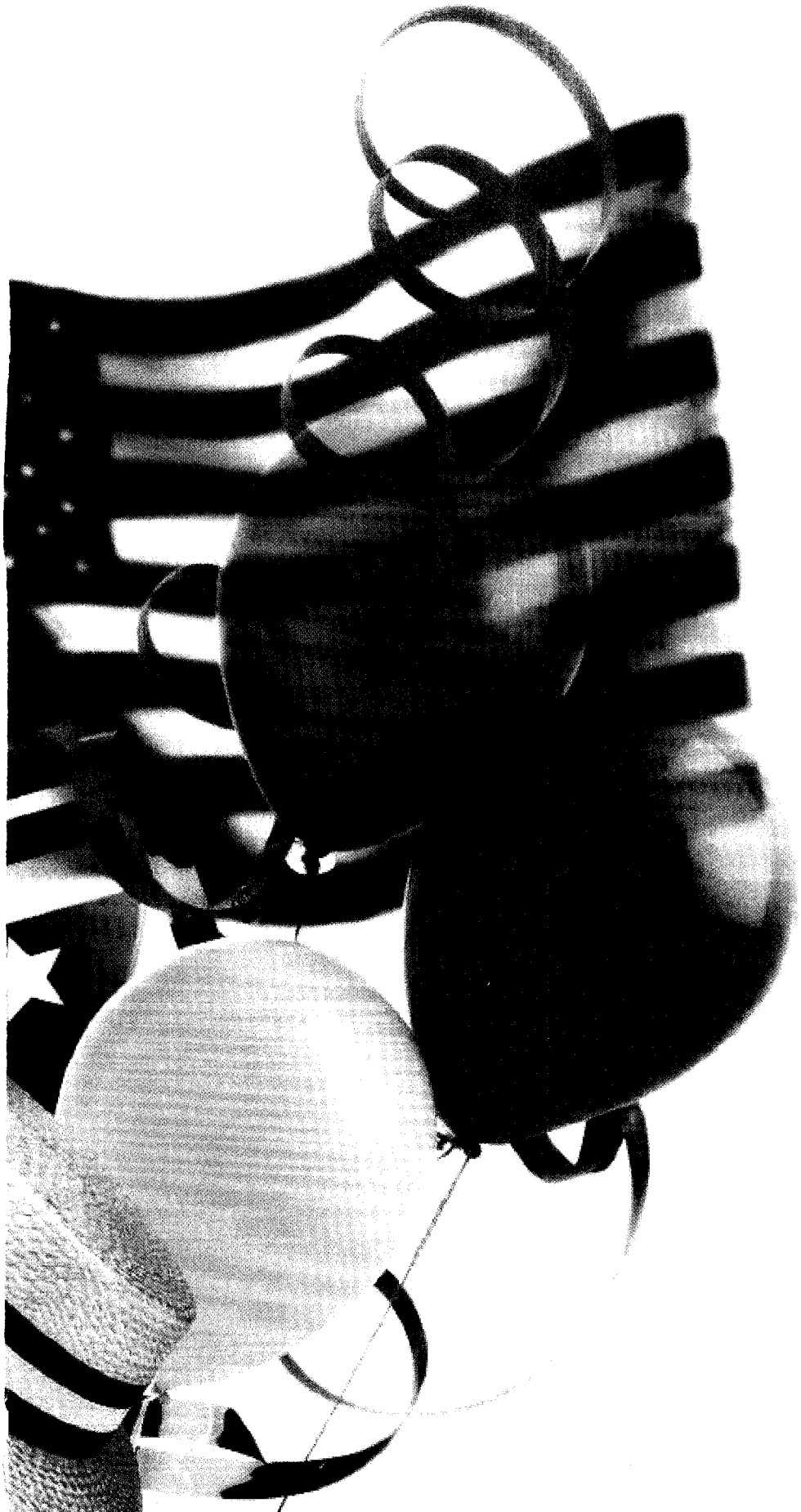

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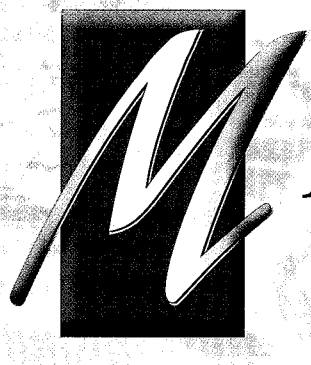

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